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We may be permitted to state that the views of our contributors and correspondents do not necessarily reflect the policy of the Wednesday Review.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

It looks as if the Joint-Committee is anxious to apply the closure to its inquiry and have done with it as quickly as possible. We can sympathise with the Committee there, as it does not seem to derive much enlightenment from the evidence so far heard by it. So long as Mr. Montagu is allowed to domineer over the whole affair, it is no good wasting time in hearing evidence which tacitly agrees to the proposition that India is on the brink of a political catastrophe and the only way to avert it is to pass Mr. Montagu's bill. The Joint-Committee has deliberately shut out all light from itself by its announcement that the situation in India does not come within the scope of its inquiry. That is just what the Committee ought not to have done if it should convince itself if a case has been made out for introducing catastrophic changes in the administration of India. Mr. Montagu has built his proposals on wrong and fatal assumptions and this fact ought to be borne in upon the Committee if it should do justice to the task entrusted to it by Parliament. Not satisfied with allowing only that kind of evidence which would bless his bill Mr. Montagu is trying to apply the closure hastily thus preventing even the stray light that might come in which would help the Committee to understand something of the real situation here. According to a Simla message, the Joint-Committee desires that deputations from public bodies and associations in India should not proceed to England with a view to giving evidence without first ascertaining through the Government of India that they will be in time for the Committee to hear them and are not likely to be disappointed. That is not fair to those who cannot accept Mr. Montagu's bill as the political gospel of India and who wish to expose the utter absurdity and crudity of most of his proposals. The tactics are not Parliamentary and Mr. Montagu cannot boast that he has acted without prejudice in the matter. A Reuter's telegram tells us that the House of Commons has formally passed a resolution to enable the Joint-Committee to sit during the coming recess. It means that Mr. Montagu is bent upon rushing the bill through Parliament. At his bidding the Joint-Committee sits through the recess, shuts out all further evidence. And all this costly farce is enacted in the name of Indian constitutional reforms.

The nominations to the Madras Legislative Council seem to have gone on the principle of class and minority representation, but we cannot say

that the results are altogether happy. If that principle be adopted, the field for choice becomes very much restricted and the Government are not to blame if they cannot secure the best quality. We have never made a secret of our belief that a rigid principle of class or communal representation is against the very genius of British rule which has all along aimed at welding into one national whole the different classes and creeds which make up the population of India. However, there are some good names among the nominated members, which compensate for the lack of quality otherwise. Diwan Bahadur T. Desikachari is a distinct acquisition to the Council and his nomination opens to him another sphere of work for which he is thoroughly equipped. Men of his mental temperament seldom care to contest at elections where the results do not generally go by merit and much depends upon the personal leanings of the wire-pullers at whose bidding a non-descript electorate goes to the poll. Rao Sahib Muthayya Chettiar takes the place of the Hon. Mr. Annamalai Chettiar. His keen business instincts will be valuable to the Council and he is bound to make his mark there. The Raja of Parlakimedi is an enlightened representative of the Zemindars and he may be expected to bring to his work at the Council those qualities which have enabled him to administer his Zemindari with conspicuous success. On the elected side there is considerable change in the personnel. Some familiar faces will be missing. Messrs. Rangachari, Rama Aiyengar, Subbarayulu Reddiar, Chidambaranatha Mudaliar, C. P. Ramasami Aiyer, Kavalapara Moopil Nayar, M. Ramachandra Rao and A. S Krishna Rao have not come back. Lord Willingdon has given up a few seats hitherto held by officials to non-officials. But we doubt if the change has been for the better, looking at the quality of some of His Excellency's nominations. There is no demerit attached to an official as such nor merit attached to a non-official as such. It all depends upon the men whom we get, official or non-official. We cannot say that the personnel of the new Council is altogether satisfactory, but we shall be glad to see our estimate of it is falsified.

The Hon. Mr. Narasimha Aiyar's antics at the April session of the Legislative Council was the immediate occasion of the amendment in the rules for the conduct of the meetings of the Council moved by the Advocate-General. He moved that after rule 13, be inserted the following: The business of the Council shall be conducted in English, provided that the President may in his discretion permit any departure from this rule. Mr. Narasimha Aiyar who tried to anticipate the Advocate-General moved the adjournment of the consideration of the question to six months. Lord Willingdon was quite firm and he told the honorable member that the Government were determined to bring forward the same amendment even after the six months and he would not gain anything by it. His Excellency made a point when he said that it was most undesirable to permit vernacular languages in the Council when the President was ignorant of them. If it was a real grievance which Mr. Narasimha Aiyar seeks to remove, many would sympathise with him. His object is merely to create a sensation in the Council but he might have been satisfied with his performance last time. He tried to continue the sensation and he deservedly failed. Except the very few who voted for his amendment, the Council as a body told him that it could not join in his tom-foolery. The argument is misleading that in other Provincial Councils members were allowed to speak in the vernacular. In the case of those who are quite ignorant of English, such a concession might be shown, and we believe an English translation of the vernacular speeches is handed to the President and other members of the Council. If there is such a necessity at Madras, we dare say the President will not grudge the privilege to any member who may want it. But Mr. Narasimha Aiyar's is only an imaginary grievance. His object, if gratified, will not make the proceedings of the Council more intelligible but will only create confusion and amusement.

According to the London Correspondent of the *Englishman* the question was raised before the Joint-Committee if it was permissible to members of the Committee to meet in private the various delegates who are in England in connection with the reform bill. Really there can be no harm in such meetings, and the delegates need not be put in quarantine. But Mr. Montagu's methods of canvassing support to his masure, have evidently occasioned the doubt. The Secretary of State has all along acted in the most objectionable way in this regard and the mischief is not going to diminish by the members of the Joint-Committee not holding converse with the delegates from India accredited or self-constituted. But we are glad the point was raised at the Joint-Committee, as it afforded an opportunity to expose Mr. Montagu's dubious methods to make out a case for his bill. Lord Selborne did well to inform the Committee that he would see in private no one with an axe to grind. If the good example of the Chairman be followed by the other members of the Committee including Mr. Montagu we may at least expect that the Committee will not be biassed either way in respect of the reform bill.

We wish the other ruling princes were as outspoken as the Maharaja of Kolhapur on the reform scheme. We are afraid some of them like the Maharaja of Bikaneer have been reduced to the *apke vaste* type by an over-zealous Secretary of State. When the Secretary of State and the Viceroy have set their hearts upon a measure

of reform, it is not likely that a Ruling Chief will care to tell them that they are wrong and their reforms will only do harm to the country. Besides, there is the notorious example of Bikaneer who has without any justfication whatsover gone out of his way and questioned the *bona fides* of those who cannot see eye to eye with Mr. Montagu in his revolutionary reforms. It is, therefore, all the more creditable to the Maharaja of Kolhapur that he should have spoken as he did on the occasion of the visit of Sir George Lloyd to his State. His Highness said in reference to the reform scheme that if he might be allowed to express an opinion, he for one would hesitate to make any constitutional changes in his State in the direction of reform until the general level of education among the masses had risen and was at least partially equalised with other classes. That is the crux of the whole situation and yet Mr. Montagu is pushing on with his reform scheme entirely oblivious of this all important factor. There might be some excuse for a Secretary of State who does not know India to talk of reforming the administration without a thought of the desirability and suitablity of the changes proposed if he was not aware that education was a factor in the situation. On the contrary Mr. Montagu has admitted in the joint-report that only with education can come into existence an electorate fit to exercise the franchise intelligently. Still in meeting his proposals Mr. Montagu has ignored this fundamental want and is proposing changes as if the masses were educated enough for a proper exercise of the franchise.

The Punjab Government have just instituted an Economic Enquiry Board with a view to encourage the scientific study of the economic problems of the province. The Board will be divided into sections, one for rural and the other for urban problems. The Board will address itself to such questions as the size of holdings, economic holdings, condition of holdings, transfer of land, outturn of crops, incidence of tenancies, cost of cultivation, vital statistics housing of the poor, congestion in towns, infantile mortality, prices of food, wages etc. The scope of inquiry for the Economic Board is fairly comprehensive. We doubt if a single Board for the whole province will do. It must be assisted in its work by a number of branches which should be able to collect accurate statistics for the use of the Central Board. Some such arrangement will have to be made if the work of the Board should be thorough and useful. There is no reason why similar boards should not be constituted in other provinces. In Madras we hear occasionally of proposals to form Committees to carry on economic inquiries. For one reason or another none of them has materialised so far. Except what Dr. Gilbert Slater is doing as the University Professor of Economis, very little is being done in the way of an economic inquiry. It is at times suggested that an economic committee should be appointed to advise the officers concerned wherever re-settlement operations are going on. Instead of having temporary committees for special purposes, it will be better to have a permanent committee like the one constituted in the Punjab. The information collected by such a committee will be authoritative and will be useful to the Settlement Officers also. We trust the Madras Government will consider our suggestion and do what they can in the matter.

It may be remembered that in September 1917, the Indian Cotton Committee was appointed to investigate the possibilities of growing long stapled cotton in this country. It was also asked to examine the work that had been done in the various provinces to grow long stapled cotton, to report regarding the possibility of extension of any methods which had led to success, investigate the causes of failure where it had occurred and if it found the failure to have been due to agricultural, irrigation or economic causes or to administrative difficulties that it should propose appropriate remedies. The Committee has reported but it seems the Government of India want further investigation into the question. They say that some time must elapse before the recommendations of the Committee can be finally dealt with. We do not see why there should be a long delay before action is taken on the recommendations of the Committee. In the meanwhile, however, the Government would ask the Local Governments to report on their requirements in respect of additional appointments for investigation purposes as recommended by the Cotton Committee. One would think that it is more important to stimulate cotton growing by loans and other facilities to cultivators and the question of appointing a staff of highly paid officers may come next. If it is a matter of improving the sanitation of the country, the Government are in a hurry to appoint a host of officials, appropriate as much grant as possible to pay them and have nothing left to do any practical work for sanitary improvement. That seems to be the way with the Government in such matters but we cannot commend it.

While we appreciate the need of scientific investigation into the possibilities of growing long-stapled cotton for which there is an ever increasing demand, and also of having a well-manned State department, it ought not to be supposed that the whole problem will be solved by the collection of scientific information and by an army of costly officials. The best way of growing long-stapled cotton or cotton of any variety that may be required is to grow it. The ryot must be interested in the problem and he can be interested only if he is induced to grow cotton on his holding by loans. In the first place the Agricultural Department must send out some of its officers to out-lying parts in the province which are particularly suited to cotton and which may not have been officially recognised as cotton tracts. They must go out into the villages, tell the ryot there is money in cotton, and with careful selection of seed and of plots he may enrich himself to an extent which may not appear possible to him with his present wasteful and haphazard methods of cultivation. That is the right end to begin at and the Government should begin there. They need not wait till the recommendations of the Cotton Committee are deliberated upon by the Local Governments and their verdict is obtained. The ryot must be taught how to grow cotton successfully and market it to his best advantage. It is the first step to take and let it not be imagined that it is necessary to bring into existence a host of high paid officials before practical work is undertaken to grow long-stapled cotton.

THE
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EVIDENCE BEFORE THE JOINT-COMMITTEE.

THE evidence so far placed before the Joint-Committee is easily analysed. It is for the most part the view of those who are overwhelmed with admiration for Mr. Montagu's bill and in some measure, of those who would gladly condemn it if they were sure of getting something more revolutionary than the bill provides for. Like Mrs. Besant of last year, they would be disposed to hurl back in the face of the authors what they have proposed to give in the joint-report. For one reason or another, they don't hold together just now and they are without a leader. Therefore, the bulk of the evidence will be from those who are Mr. Montagu's henchmen and who for what psychological reason we wonder are called moderates. The bill is frankly revolutionary and proposes changes in the administration of India for which conditions are not ripe. If it were a really progressive measure of legislation aiming to lead India step by step to the goal of complete self-government, it must be shorn of its objectionable features. Those who approve of the bill as it is, cannot be moderates, and if the Secretary of State chooses to call them so, we can only say it is a clever attempt of Mr. Montagu to make the Joint-Committee believe that it is hearing the evidence of the most responsible and representative class of the people whose accredited delegates the witnesses before it are. The Joint-Committee must be told the truth about these deputations. They may represent what are called public bodies which are a misnomer here. The opinions they hold may be their own. But they are not the representatives of the people of India in whose name all this fuss of reform is made. The Chairman of the Committee has ruled out of order any evidence bearing on the situation in India and thereby he has deliberately shut out all light from the purview of the Committee. The Committee is packed and the atmosphere in which it is told to sit and work is manufactured. If under these conditions, the Parliament expects the Joint-Committee to enlighten it on the reform proposals, it is in for serious disappointment. Let us take a sample or two of the evidence to which the Committee has been treated during these few days. We have Mr. Madhava Rao who has been *ad nauseam* described as the retired Prime Minister of three Native States. This great 'statesman' was an unmitigated autocrat while at Mysore where he laid down the law that Mysore was unfit to own an independent newspaper. His press law was a Draconian piece of legislation, but he now poses as a rampant democrat. Whatever he did or failed to do at the Native States over which he held sway, he has not been able to acquire that equipoise of mind which his career as a responsible statesman should have given him. On the contrary the moment he goes in retirement, he indulges in wild declamations which made his freinds wonder if he was the same Madhava Rao who passed the Mysore Press Act. His evidence before the Joint-Committee was marked by an extravagance of language and sentiment hard to associate with one who is trotted out by his friends as the retired Prime Minister of three Native States. He told the Committee that the Civil Service had outlived its day and India could do without Englishmen. We should like to know at what stage of his life Mr. Madhava Rao made this discovery. It was not so very long ago after all that Mr. Madhava Rao praised the alien Government to the skies and attributed every blessing in India to their rule. The *volte-face* is no doubt explicable but the Joint-Committee must know his antecedents before it gives credence to his views. We are glad Sir Frank Sly who was examined subsequently was able to apply the corrective. He told the Joint-Committee that he would be sorry to think that Mr. Madhava Rao's opinion reflected the more sober opinion of India. We may assure Sir Frank Sly that it does not. The least sober opinion here has not gone the length of saying that India could dispense with Europeans at once. Even the Besantines do not say that the Europeans should quit India this minute and they are gracious enough to permit them to stay on for a few years more. Even that much Mr. Madhava Rao will not allow. Mr. Madhava Rao's political conversion is startling and sudden and the Joint-Committee will have to bear this fact in mind in weighing his evidence. Mr. Madhava Rao's evidence is but a sample of the pabulum on which the Joint-Committee is being fed. The outcome of it is not difficult to guess. The Joint-Committee will not hear evidence which would discuss for its benefit the real situation in India. Only that kind of evidence which wants Mr. Montagu's bill, the whole bill and nothing but the bill, will be let in. The report which the Joint-Committee can make on the materials which a zealous Secretary of State has elected to place before it will only reiterate the unfounded assumption that the population of India is clamouring for administrative reform and the only way of satisfying it is to pass Mr. Montagu's bill. If Parliament should act upon that assumption and pass the bill as it stands it will have committed the biggest folly in the annals of British connection with India.

CURRENCY AND PRICES.

'BY WORKMAN'

It is satisfactory to find the falacy of opening the Indian Mints to the free coinage of silver at the bidding of everybody but the Indian Government is exposed by a writer 'X' in the '*Times Trade Supplement*' for June 14. The question of stabilising Exchange is a world question principally referring to International adjustments of trade balances. The scientists long ago proved that there could be no stability in exchange of sliver and gold except by agreement, and the old Ratio of 15½ silver to 1l. of gold, giving a Ten Rupee to the British Sovereign exchange was the rate in use by the Roman Empire. Only when Germany decided to boycott silver was the general understanding of the fixed exchange upset.

Instead of the world boycotting German Trade, the alternative was for all countries to boycott silver, with the inevitable result of disturbing Import and Export prices, where silver remained the domestic currency of the agricultural countries, and gold became the international currency of the manufacturing countries. If we want stability of domestic and foreign prices for trade purposes we must try to get the old bimetallic standard of exchange revived. This may be possible if Nations will only trade with those countries accepting it, and the League of Nations takes up the matter.

What makes the bimetallic system effective is, that it should be obligatory to pay a debt in equal moieties of value in both silver and gold the weight of metals being in the agreed ratio.

The basis of the payment then, is not coinage, though the coins certify the weights, but weights of the two metals in the agreed ratio.

The fact that this agreement would exist as a world proposition simplifies all business, and the demand for both metals in all transactions being constant and universal at the established ratio, the obligation to keep the National stocks of the two metals makes the demand and supply constant in the effort to do so.

Bi-metallism distributes the metals evenly everywhere and prevents some countries having all the gold and others all the silver. It saves the expense of a large amount of coinage of either metal for domestic purposes, since the metals are merely merchandize and can be imported and exported as found necessary, and kept in the the treasuries till wanted, while its possession by the Government establishes the credit for the currency and issue Notes against it.

Bimetallism does not mean that a person can claim exchange of either currency for the other to unlimited amounts, though for small amounts it might be conceded by favour, for daily demands and supplies. The inconvenience if any in the Bimetallic currency transactions is got over by the Government and the Banks regulating the stocks, and till somebody thought to make a profit out of exchanging silver coins for gold, probably they would know little and think less about Bi-meatallism being in operation, but would soon be undeceived.

The Government and Bank Credit is as good as currency in hand. But in certain cases the credit when heavily drawn on has the effect of inflatin the currency above the normal requirements and a competition of those people holding stocks o commodities or offering labour is set up to get hold of the excess currency with a result that the prices of all things are raised, and there are general disturbances from depreciation of wages and salaries for purchasing supplies.

It does not require much science or reflection to show us the truth of the proposition that the volume of currency in circulation should not be greater or less than is required for the normal adjustment of transactions if prices are to remain constant.

The only power that can regulate this is a Government, whereas to open the mints to free coinage by anybody is to allow that power to be exercised over the head of the Government, and upset stability of prices.

Then every agency in the production begins to suspect some other of illict profiteering or withholding distribution of supplies, whenever prices go up, while holders of stocks cannot sell them when from over production prices go down and things cannot be traded without loss. Then production and distribution ceases till prices rise again till they will return cost of production and distribution and the interest on the money borrowed from the Bank incurred in the operation,

While these automatic changes affect the action of producers and suppliers, operations, the consumers, needs are constant. But it is evident they cannot be satisfied with regularity when from any cause such as War, Strikes, Currency, Credit or want of Confidence in work and Political bodies interferes with the even flow of production and distribution.

When we know the liability for these great causes to affect our food and other supplies, we may do well to consider them in time of Peace and see what can be done to stabilise the even flow of production and distribution for the future.

Without much deliberation we can see that for stability of purpose there must be unity of will of peoples to sympathise with one another and help in times of distress, just as we are told to do at all times to the Neighbour.

Next we must follow the 'command' by organised policy and practical methods, which cannot be initiated without a world advisory council at

which procedure will be deliberated and regularly sanctioned. The way the Government of the world has been carried on hitherto is clearly to make what is everybody's concern, nobody's business. So the diplomacy of each National Government has had to be to 'time serve' against un-workman-like odds entirely opposed to the simple principles of stability in everything, and the balance to be kept by Neighbourly interchanges of courtesies and commerce.

At a world-advisory council truth will rule policy and publicity will purify diplomacy.

Then we shall be advised of previous errors that will fully account for much tribulation, and we shall see 'The Way' to avoid them in future.

As regards the inflation of Prices that seems to have become universal it is not the result of any action or will of castes, creeds, races or capitalists, but war, and the consequent break up of the organised production and distribution of food, and commodities, in daily demand by the world's consumers.

It India we may add to this, shortage of crops at present owing to deficient rainfall. Famines in the past have caused the trouble with capitalists and financiers have hoped to mitigate by providing Railways, and inducing imports by sea when food is wanted. The traders and much abused capitalists are the only agencies available for engaging in these useful works but they can only act usefully under world protection, and agreement to plans and policy for it.

The system of prices for everything with reference to the precious metals, gold and silver brings Accountants and Auditors on the scene, while accumulations of these metals at the disposal of anyone enables them to undertake works. But no one would do this without an object of serving the public in ways that would meet some world demand. Nor is the immediate possession of accumulated money indispensable to initiate works. Promises to pay at some future time on agreed terms are as good as money on delivery of goods to trusted customers, Governments being such according to the honesty of their policy and ability of their work management.

In 'Banking Notes' by the City Correspondent of the *Times Trade Supplement* an explanation of the Effect of war Loans on Trade and Prices is given from which we learn, that when some emergent occurrence throws the burden of united National action on the Government, then it must have the means to pay for it.

So the Govt. goes to the Banks for the 'needful' at the moment till the Public subscribe to repay the Banks. As the amount of metal for currency purposes cannot be increased suddenly the Public accept Bank Notes which in large war transactions may double and treble the currency to move the same quantity of goods or command the same services, and consequently every-body asks higher prices for everything.

Meanwhile Labour unions think to keep up wages at the inflated currency rate by combining to refuse services in the mass, and various propaganda are started to show some section of society is to blame for the high prices and scarcity of food.

To such an extent has this gone that in the Bolshevist movement arising out of the sudden collapse of the Russian organisation, and the wandering of whole armies in search of subsistance. Class war has been established as a means of keeping bands of marauders together, and no progress with establishing peace and common sense government can be made till the Bolshevist movement is suppressed.

All this shows that Class war is wholly unjustified and the necessity of co-operation of all Nations in suppressing it. A few Postulates of Good World Government may be suggested that if circulated agreed to and published for general information by the League of Nations might form the basis of a satisfactory work policy into which all local policy might adapt its Co-operative competitions. Without these Industrial operations intended as a source of benefit to humanity become a source of tribulation not to say danger, as we see, by the misuse of the facilities that can be made of the Sciences for attacks.

TOPICS FROM PERIODICALS.

THE MONROE DOCTRINE.

The genesis of the famous political doctrine known as the Monroe Doctrine, says Mr. J. G. R. Marriott, in the April number of the *Edinburgh Review*, has been the subject of considerable dispute. 'The theory contains in its complete form two distinct formulæ, first, abstention on the part of America from any intervention in European affairs, and, secondly, the exclusion of European influence from the American continent; and both formulæ date long before the the President who gave them their name. The first was explicitly affirmed by Washington in his Farewell Address in 1795, and by Jefferson in his First Inaugural in 1801; and it was not long before the second and strictly correlative formula was added to it, for as early as 1808 Jefferson insisted that the object of the United States should be "to exclude all European influence from this hemisphere." The first enunciation of the Doctrine, by President Monroe, in 1823, was brought about by Canning's famous endeavour to "bring in the New World to redress the balance of the Old." Mr. Marriott says:—

By this message Canning was gravely perturbed. He had got much more than he bargained for.

All that he desired was the co-operation of the United States in thwarting the supposed designs of the Holy Alliance, and in particular of France, upon the Spanish colonies. What he got was a general intimation, *urbi et orbi*, that hencefoward the American continent would be the exclusive preserve of the American peoples, and that no further acquisitions of American soil would be permitted to European or other States.

From December 1823 to December 1918 the Monrœ Doctrine has been the sheet-anchor of American diplomacy. Primarily put forward in reference to the Russian claim upon the North-West coast and to the crisis in Spanish South America, the principles enunciated by President Monrœ were from the first, perceived to possess a far wider application. Canning's chagrin was amply justified. The message no more discriminated between Great Britain and the absolutist Powers of the Continent than did the propagandist Decrees issued by the French Republic in the autumn of 1792. It was, in fact, as Professor Dunning has candidly admitted, the pronouncement of a great democracy just arrived at aggressive self-consciousness. Its underlying spirit was in very truth antagonism, so far as concerned affairs of the Western hemisphere, to all monarchic Europe, Great Britain included.

Review of Reviews London.

JAPAN AND INDIA—AS OTHERS SEE US.

International relations depend a great deal, if not entirely, upon national feelings, for national feeling plays an important role in international friendship. The Indians have entertained good feelings towards the Japanese, or, more properly, show a national tendency to approach Japan. But this tendency is founded not as the result of the popular feeling, but upon the national faith, which is more deeply rooted than feeling. For the Indians are a unique religious people, and their thought is so fundamentally religious, that they can conceive nothing without religion; religion is the sum total of Indian thought. And according to the religion which they embrace, the caste system, entirely peculiar to India, will never be changed as long as the world remains populated. To the Indian eye, therefore, the protection of the caste means more than that of the state. For man is born in caste, and there exists no human being outside of caste. Violate the usage of caste, and you are doomed entirely. Members of different castes never marry, have any sort of intercourse, or sit at table together. People of the same caste get intimate, but those of different castes reject one another at the pleasure of their gods. The fundamental principle of Indian thought is religion. Religion accounts for the existence of caste, which is most strictly adhered to as something sacred. The attitude of the Indians towards other people, whether neighbours or strangers or aliens, is governed by this caste spirit. Once an intimate Indian friend called me a "Brahmin of Japan," meaning that among the Japanese people, who are on the whole friendly, I was the most friendly to this particular Indian, like one of the Brahmin caste of his country. This is enough to show how thoroughly the caste sprit permeates the thought of the Indians.

Great Britain is far more disadvantageously situated than Japan in regard to an understanding of the psychology of the Indians. For something stands in the way of the union of the European and Indian minds. There were some hundred thousand British subjects in India in pre-war times, but how many of this large number truly understood the customs, manners and hearts of the people? Need I mention the still greater difficulty the British people at home experience in their study of India? Still be it said to the credit of Great Britain, that the British colonial policy has been a successful one.

Apart from political and financial affairs, England never interferes with any Indian customs or practices pertaining to their religion, but leaves such matters to the free judgment of the Indians. The British people never hint at the improvement of these practices. For they know full well that a careless interference with any religious question, which is the central thought of the Indians, might lead to serious trouble. And this fear is not imaginary or groundless, for every trouble that Great Britain has experienced with Indians and every outburst of Indian rage have been directly or indirectly connected with religion. The Indians are comparatively indifferent in matters of politics, finance and other social questions. It is the Indian policy of Great Britain, I believe, not to anglicise India from the foundation, but to unify the internal administration, maintain order and peace in the country, increase Indian wealth, and obtain as much profit herself as possible. And Great Britain has perfectly attained her object in the past, for under the Britain administration India has seen the most peaceful prosperity ever witnessed in Indian history, and the Indian is perfectly satisfied with British government, showing no sign of discontent or complaint. Even the

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KEEP IT HANDY.

Immediate relief is necessary in attacks of diarrhoea. Chamberlain's Colic and Diarrhoea Remedy should always be on hand. For sale by all Chemists and Storekeepers

anti-British feelings, often reported lately, represent the views of but a small portion of the Indian people, having nothing to do with the general sentiments of the nation.

I have elsewhere stated what good feeling the Indian people entertain towards the Japanese, and good feelings often pave the way for peaceful business transactions. Besides, no other nation in the world is more influenced, either favorably or otherwise, by social considerations. Their characteristic exclusiveness, by which they never eat anything touched by one of another caste, may be held to account for the distinctions they make in caste, in race, in religion, and everything else. But this same trait may influence them in business transactions, and also in the purchase of daily necessaries. This is the natural tendency from which no Indian can free himself. If, therefore, the Japanese manage to harmonise themselves with the thought and feelings of the Indians, become truly intimate and friendly with them, most confidently and confidingly lead and guide them, and at the same time improve and promote our industries to meet fully the Indian demands, and exchange our industral products for the inexhaustible natural resources of India, for the mutual convenience and profit, then we may safely expect to see Indo-Japansse relations most closely established within twenty years hence.

Journal of the India Japanese Association.

THE SOUNDING WORLD.

It seemed to him as if he had heard this sound before. But where he could not tell. It was thrilling and glorious, and the warm air was filled with it. It awakened within him memories. More glorious was it than any music he had ever heard. Lifting clear, wondrous, joyful sound that rang and rang round him.

He was going over a great bright-lit plain. The colour of the light was stange to him.

It was as if he had awakened suddenly from a profound sleep. He had come to full consciousness, and he had found himself going over this plain in the midst of the joyful, wondrous sound. He was filled with a happiness inexpressible.

Where had he been before he had come to this plain? What was the life he had lived? It must be all a dream' he thought. And then there came to him a flash of remembrance. The picture of a scene dim and remote and far away was in his mind. It was at once far, far from him and clear. He saw it as if it were across a fathomless gulf. And it occurred to him that he had been in some way related to it.

The scene became clearer. Men were flying high through the air in what seemed to be strange-shaped chariots. The air was filled with light. But it was not as the light that was around him now. It was different in colour. Down beneath were sudden flashes of flame.

One of the chariots was falling. And all at once the picture of the scene was blotted from out his mind.

He knew that he was going over this plain towards a destination. But what that destination was he did not know. He knew, however, that he was going towards a goal that he had long desired to reach.

How happy he felt! How thrilled he was with the sound that rang, and rang around him!

"Where have I heard this sound before?" he asked himself.

"It is more beautiful than any music I have ever heard. And it is filled with joy"

He looked up. But he could see nothing. There was only a soft, stretching clearness.

"My destination lies beyond this plain," he said. "It will not be long now before I am there. What the destination is like I know not. But I know that it is what I have longed for. It is a place of beauty and wonder."

And then it was that he felt that he was living but in a dream. A glorious dream of strange shining, but still a dream. It surely was a dream, for he had found himself suddenly within it. This sound that rang around him was some dream-sound. A sound of magical, trancendant beauty, but for all that a sound that did not exist. This plain did not exist. This light of strange shining did not exist. He was going towards no destination.

Surely it was a dream, but for all that it was a dream in which happiness was with him. A thrilling, wonderful happiness. He had never felt in the whole of his waking life as he was feeling now! If it were a dream it would be well if it came to pass that he would never awake again. It would be well if he were always within it. The sound that rang around him inthe air entranced and lifted him. Where had he heard it before?

And then it came to him. He had heard it before in another world. A world that was now far away. He had left this world for ever. And the sound that rang around him now was as the sound of the song of the larks. But it was multiplied a myriadfold, and it was still more wonderful and beautiful. It was as if it surrounded and upheld this strange new world wherein he now found himself. This glorious sounding world. A world wherein the multiplied lark-song was as the very voice of God.

But this was only the world of a dream! He would awaken, and he would be gone from it! And the life of the far off world, in which he would

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in the end find himself, became vivid to him. Often had he gone along over its fields, listening to the glorious song of the lark. And thoughts he had then came to him now, here in this new, strange, wonderful world of his dreaming. Often it had seemed to him—in the world afar—that the song of the lark was the voice of God. Often he had thought this as he went along, listening.

And he was sure of it now, here in the sounding world of his dream. The voice of God was speaking and ringing around him.

Here in a strange dream!

But suddenly there was in his mind an intense light. Suddenly he knew. This world of sounding was no world of a dream! It was a world of vivid awakenment. A surpassing clearness was in his mind. He had fallen in the battling of the world of the far beyond. He had passed through the gate of Change.

He had died only to live more gloriously. He had passed through the gate of Change into a life great and wondrous.

His soul had come to the full light—as from a a darkness.

On he was going over the great bright-lit plain of the sounding world. Going to his destination. With him was a happiness such as he had never even conceived of in the world of the afar.

He had come now to the confines of the great plain. And far out and above he saw a city of wonderful shining. It lay on a vast, round mountain. A city glorious and sublime and strange. A city of the realization of vague, faint hopes and dreams.

He went towards.

By Bart Kennedy *in the Occult Review.*

Mr. JOSEPH CONRAD.

HIS TALES OF MYSTERY.

Mr Joseph Conrad is a writer with a lure. Every novelist of genius is that, of course, to some extent. But Mr. Conrad is more than most. He has a lure like some lost shore in the tropics. He compels to adventure. There is no other living writer who is sensitive in anything like the same degree to the sheer mysteriousness of the earth. Every man who breathes, every woman who crosses the street, every wind that blows, every ship that sails, every tide that fills, every wave that breaks, is for him alive with mystery as a lantern is alive with light—a little light in an immense darkness. Or perhaps it is more subtle than that. With Mr. Conrad it is as though mystery, instead of dwelling in people and things like a light, hung about them like an aura. Mr. Kipling communicates to us aggressively what our eyes can see, and in so doing gives a new significance to things. Occasionally he leaves us puzzled as to where in the world the significance can lie. But of the presence of this significance, this mystery, we are as uncannily certain as of some noise that we have heard at night. It is like the 'mana" which savages at once reverence and fear, in a thousand objects. It is unlike "mana," however, in that it is a quality not of sacredness, but of romance. It is as though for Mr. Conrad a ghost of romance inhabited every tree and every stream, every ship and every human being. His function in literature is the announcement of this ghost. In all his work there is some haunting and indefinable elemont that draws us into a kind of ghost-story atmosphere as we read. His ships and men are, in an old sense of the word, possessed.

One might compare Mr. Conrad in this respect with his master—his master, at least, in the art of the long novel—Henry James. I do not mean that in the matter of his genius Mr. Conrad is not entirely, orginal. Henry James could no more have written Mr. Conrad's stories than Mr. Conrad could have written Henry James's. His manner of discovering significance in insignificant things, however, is of the school of Henry James. Like Henry James, he is a psychologist in everything down to descriptions of the weather. It can hardly be questioned that he has learned more of the business of psychology from Henry James than from any other writer. As one reads a story like "Chance," however, one feels that in psychology Mr. Conrad is something of an amateur of genius, while Henry James is a professor. Mr. Conrad never gives the impression of having used the dissecting-knife and the microscope and the test-tubes as Henry James does. He seems rather to be one of the splendid guessers. Not that Henry James is timid in speculations. He can sally out into the borderland and come back with his bag ef ghosts like a very hero of credulity. Even when he tells a ghost story, however—and "The Turn of the Screw" is one of the great ghost stories of literature—he remains supremely master of his materials. He has an efficiency that is scientific as compared with the vaguer broodings of Mr. Conrad. Where Mr. Conrad will drift into discovery Henry James will sail more cunningly to his end with chart and compass. *The M. A. B.*

SELECTIONS.

THE DUTIES OF KINGS IN ANCIENT INDIA.

The Code of Manu displays a high regard for the kingly position, and says that the king is a great deity in human shape, and that the Lord created the king for the preservation of order on earth. Yet Manu declares that the king who through infatuation oppresses his own state, soon loses his kingdom as well as his life with his whole family. Just as a man's vitality is undermined through physical suffering, so also the king's life is shortened by the oppression of his state. The Mahabharata even goes the length of saying that an unrighteous king deserves capital punishment.

Nowhere has the object of the tribute paid to the king been more beautifully expressed than in the well-known lines of the immortal Kalidasa, where he says that the king levies taxes on his subjects for there own welfare, just as the sun draws up moisture from the earth only to return it a thousand-fold.

The proper manner of levying the tribute has been very happily illustrated in a passage in the

Mahabharata, and the same idea is also to be found in the Manusamhita and the Garuda Purana. Says the Mahabharata.

'The king should tap the resources of his kingdom as gently as the bee sucks honey from the flower, as men milk a cow without wounding her udder and starving the calf, as the leech drinks the blood, as the tigress takes her cubs between her teeth and lifts them without inflicting pain, as the mouse bites the sole of the feet imperceptibly with its sharp teeth; from people in affluent circumstances the king should levy taxes on a gradually increasing scale'.

In the Sabhaparva of the Mahabharata there is a long dialogue between Narada and Yudhisthira on the duties of kings, from which the following extract is given. Narada asks Yudhisthira:

"Is thy kingdom persecuted by thievish or covetous people, by the imprudence of minors, or the influence of woman or thyself or not? In thy kingdom, hast thou established large tanks and lakes full of water, and hast thou distributed them in such a manner that all the lands have a proper share? Or hast thou left the agricultture of thy realm wholly dependent on the mercies of the gods? In thy kingdom do not the agriculturists feel the want of either seed-grain or food? And dost thou, out of due consideration, grant the tillers of thy realm loans at a small rate of interest? O child are the departments of thy state, dealing with the four professions of agriculture, trade, cattle-rearing, and banking, managed by the honest Officers? Upon these, O son, depends the happiness of thy people".

The happiness of the people should indeed be a prime consideration with good kings according to the ancient political theorists of India. 'Raja *Prakritiranjanat*'—the word 'king' in Sanskrit is derived from a root which means to please (the people). Whether the banishment of Sita was morally justifiable or not, the fact remains that Rama, knowing in his heart of hearts that his queen was chaste and honourable did not scruple to exile her in her delicate state of health in order to please his people. In the Matsya Purana, we have the following pregnant advice:

Every king should consider what are the acts which please or offend the people in his state, and he should take particular care to avoid the offensive acts. O moon of the solar dynasty, royal prosperity depends on the people being favourably disposed. Hence the best princes on earth should carefully act in such a way as to please the people'.

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In two passages in the Vamana Purana and the Brahma Purana we have it that where the king is virtuous and powerful and his officers are well-disposed towards him, and the country is well-governed, and where moreover the people live in unity and follow the path of justice, are peaceful and without mutual jealousy, there one should fix his habitation, as it is pleasant to reside in such a country, whereas it is otherwise in a country under a bad king.

The seven deadly sins of a king are—(a) excessive fondness for hunting (b) gambling (c) excessive sexual indulgence (d) drunkenness (e) financial extravagance (f) habitual use of harsh language (g) fondness for severe punishments. In the last lines of the same chapter we are referred, for details, to the treatises of Sukra and Vrihaspati, who are said to be the founders of the science of politics.

Ancient Indian authorities were not very favourably disposed towards bureaucracies. Manu lays down the following:

"Since the servants of the king whom he has appointed guardians of districts are generally knaves, who seize what belongs to other men from such knaves let him defend his people."

Kalhan, in his Rajatarangini, every-where bitterly complains against the "Kayastha's or royal officers, who according to Sir Aurel Stein, were mostly Brahmins by caste, and ridicules their sacrosanct pretensions. According to the *Sukraniti*, the king should take the side not of his officers, but of his subjects. "For who" says Sukracharya, "does not get intoxicated by drinking the vanity of office?"

Alluding to Hieun-Tsang's dercription of the grand Parliament of Religions convened by Harshavardhan under the presidency of the celebrated Chinese Master of the Law, Mr. Havell says:

"Another striking characteristic of Indian political life is the extraordinary deference shown by military rulers to the authorised exponent of national culture, the professional pandits."

The influence of philosophers was not the only factor in curbing royal despotism. The coronation oath which the king had to swear required him to consider always as God whatever is law and whatever is in accordance with ethics and whatever is not opposed to policy and to act according to that and never to act arbitrarily.

"There was no struggle", says Mr. Havell, "for freedom of conscience or for the political rights of individuals, because both were established by the unwritten law of the land, confirmed by every monarch in his coronation oath......

Religion took the foremost place in the political history of India by a natural psychological process, because when the preliminary steps in social evolution were passed—freedom of consci-

ence and a sufficient measure of personal liberty to ensure the contentment and material prosperty of the community–all impediments to the attain ment of the highest goal of intellectual effort—spiritual freedom—had been removed"

The Sukraniti lays down that the king must never act upon his own opinions, but upon the opinions of the majority. Public opinion is more powerful than the king, as the rope made up of many fibres is strong enough to drag a lion.

"In defining the lmitation of monarchy the Hindu lawgiver is much more explicit and outspoken than the barons of England at Runnymede when they dictated Magna Carta....... Whoever the reputed author [of the *Sukraniti*] might have been, he certainly was regarded as an exponent of an ancient popular tradition which every king was bound to respect, for these *Nitisaras* were the text-books for the king's education. There are always kings who forget their lessons or learn them badly, but the theory that India has never enjoyed a constitution according to modern ideas is an historical fiction which does not bear careful examination.

Discussing the very remarkable evidence of genuine local sef-government and the management of village revenues and common lands, tanks, gardens, and charitable endowments, &c., by different committees of the village Sabhas and Maha-Sabhas elected after regular voting by ballot on the most approved modern methods and the exercise of judicial powers extending not only to the imposition of fines but also to capital punishment by these assemblies, full details of which have been brought to light by recent archaeologi-research on South Indian temple inscriptions of the ninth to the twelvth centuries A.D., Mr. Havell very justly concludes that.

"the common belief of Europe that Indian monarchy was always an irresponsible and arbitrary despotism is so far as concerns the pre-Muhammadan period, only one of the many false conceptions of Indian history held by Europeans. Neither ancient nor modern history in Europe can show a system of local self-government more scientifically planned, nor one which provided more effective safeguards against abuses, than that which was worked out by Aryan philosophers as the social and political basis of Indo-Aryan religion. The liberty of the Englisman was wrung from unwilling rulers by bitter struggles and by civil war. India's Aryan constitution was a free gift of the intellectuals to the people; it was designed, not in the interest of one class, but to secure for all classes as full a measure of liberty and of spiritual and material possessions as their respective capacities and consideration of the commonweal permitted".

Speaking of Southern India at the dawn of the Christian era, Mr. Aiyangar in his *Ancient India* says.

"The rulers in those days held before them high ideals of government. Their absolute authority was limited by the 'five great assemblies', as they were called, of ministers, priests, generals, heralds (spies), and ambassadors. There appears to have been a general permit for a learned Brahmin to speak his mind in any durbar; and these often gave out their opinions most fearlessly. This privilege was similarly accorded also to men of learning."

The account of the Chola administration (A.D. 900 to 1300 in chapter VI reads like a romance, though gathered from the most authoritative and unimpeachable sources, and demonstrates that self-government of a democratic type not surpassed by any country in the modern world formed the very basis of society in Southern India.

In a little book recently written by Mr. Vincent A. Smith to prove the unfitness of Indians for responsible government, that most hostile of all writers was compelled to admit that.

"Both Hindus and Muhammadans recognised that the king had duties as well as rights, and that if he was from one point of view the master, he was from another the servant of the state. A recent Hindu author justly observes that 'the conception of the king as servant of the state was one of the basic principles of political thought in Ancient India. The idea finds frequent expression in literature, most emphatically, perhaps, in the declarations of Asoka"

Bhartrihari in the seventh century A.D. wrote as follows in his *Nitisataka* or Century of Morals:

'O king, if thou wouldst suck the Earth like the cow, tend now thy subjects like a calf, for if they are so tended, constantly and well' the Earth becomes as fruitful as the mythical Kalpa tree'.

The prosperity of the people under a good king was, in fact, a fundamental axiom of Hindu politics.

We shall conclude with two further extracts.

'The king whose subjects are devoted, who is devoted to the protection of his subjects, and who has disciplined himself, enjoys great prosperity. 'In the happiness of his subjects lies his happiness; in their welfare his welfare; whatever pleases himself he shall not consider as good, but whatever pleases his subjects he shall consider as good.

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